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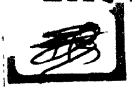

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Modern Ideological Struggle for The Philosophical Heritage of Ancient India

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Printed by R. K. Maitra from *R. D. Press*,
11/B, Chowringhee Terrace, Calcutta 20,
and published by him on behalf of *Indian Studies: Past & Present*, 3 Sambhunath Pandit Street, Calcutta 20

Selling Agents
Manish Granthalaya P. Ltd
4/3 B, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.

EDITOR'S NOTE
SOVIET INDOLOGY SERIES

On the invitation of the Academy of Sciences, USSR, I had the opportunity of visiting the Soviet Union last year, and, during my stay there for about six weeks, had the chance to meet many Soviet scholars and philosophers working in different fields of Indology. One of the most urgent questions of mutual interest which we eagerly discussed was naturally concerned with the ways and means of better consolidating Indo-Soviet collaboration in the field of Indology. From the Indian end, by far the most important thing needed for the purpose is obviously the popularisation in India of the Soviet contributions to Indology. After coming back to India, I spoke about this to my collegues working in the *Indian Studies : Past & Present*, and we took the decision of launching the present series on Soviet Indology.

We are grateful to Dr. O. D. Odooyef, Deputy Director of the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, for providing us with the present manuscript in English translation, which may give our readers some broad idea of the special significance of the approach of the Soviet scholars to the cultural heritage of India, and this in the background of the long history of Indological studies both in Europe and India.

The next three manuscripts in this series, which are being sent to the press now, are more specialised in their scope and are also intended to cover the great tradition of Russian Indology, of which the contemporary Soviet scholars are the inheritors. These are :

1. *Papers of Th. Stcherbatsky.*

   The papers are translated for the first time into English by Sri H. C. Gupta from the microfilm copies kindly supplied by the Institute of the Peoples of Asia (renamed Institute of Oriental Studies from 1969) Leningrad. The papers include : a) Nāgārjuna's brief work on the *Refutation of God*—text, translation, with introduction and notes, b) *History of Materialism in India*, c) *Scientific Achievements of Ancient India*, d) *Theory of Poetry in India* and f) Dharmakīrti's *Santānāntara-siddhi* with Vinītadeva's commentary.

2. *Kushan Studies in USSR*

[Papers presented by the Soviet scholars at the International Conference on the History, Archaeology, and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan period, Dushanbe 1961]. Containing: a) B. Gafurov, *Kushan Civilization and World Culture*, b) M. Asimov, *Science in Central Asia in the Kushan Period and the Methods of Studying it*, c) B. M. Bongard-Levin and B. Y. Stavisky, *Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, d) B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline of the History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, e) *Abstracts of Papers* by other Soviet Scholars. Also 18 Plates.

3. The classic work *Tibetan Historical Literature* by A. I. Vostrikov (1904-1937), originally published in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series in 1962 and translated for the first time into English by H. C. Gupta.

We are happy to announce that we have assurance from the Soviet scholars—particularly from Professor V. V. Balabushevich—for regular follow-up materials with which to continue the present series.

Among the innumerable Soviet friends and scholars from whom I have received help and active support in this venture, I am particularly anxious to express thanks to Dr. A. D. Litman, Dr. I. D. Serebryakov, Dr. B. M. Bongard-Levin, Dr. E. E Tyomkin and Dr. N. P. Anikeev.

I should take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude also to my Indian collegue, Sri H. C. Gupta of the National Library, Calcutta, without whose untiring help and really superb knowledge of the Russian language it would have been extremely difficult for us to venture the present series.

Calcutta
August 20, 1969.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya
Editor
Indian Studies : Past & Present

About the Author

N. P. Anikeev works in the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences, USSR. He is one of the foremost scholars of traditional Indian Philosophy in the USSR today. Apart from his contributions to the gigantic *Philosophical Encyclopaedia* sponsored by the Institute of Philosophy, Academy of Sciences, USSR, N.P. Anikeev is the author of *The Materialistic Traditions in Indian Philosophy* (in Russian, Moscow 1965) and has prepared (in Russian translation) *An Anthology of Ancient and Medieval Indian Philosophy.* Besides these, he has written many articles, reviews, etc, mainly related to Indian philosophical subjects.

[Select *Bibliography*—at the end of the book]

MODERN IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE FOR THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHICAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

I

A more or less systematic study of India—including Indian philosophy—was taken up by European scholars by the end of the eighteenth century. A major part of Indian territory was then under the rule of the East India Company. W. Jones (1746-1794), formerly a fellow of Oxford University and later appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta (then Fort William), is generally regarded as the founder of modern European Indology. Mainly because of his initiative, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784—the first Indological centre. Soon thereafter other centres of Oriental studies were established in many European countries on the model of this Society.

In the early stages, an extremely important role in the study of India was undoubtedly played by the British officials and scholars. Among them were outstanding men like W. Jones, H. T. Colebrooke, C. Wilkins, J. Prinsep and others. They did a specific type of research and were responsible for the translation of some important socio-political, ideological and literary master-pieces of India (*Laws of Manu*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Bhagavatgītā*, *Śakuntalā*, etc.). In fact, H. T. Colebrooke (1765-1837) devoted much of his energies to the study of ancient Indian philosophy, and in 1824-1832 published a series of *Essays on Hindu Philosophy* in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain and Ireland). This series was immediately translated into a number of European

languages, and for a long time remained practically the only systematic source for Europeans to get acquainted with Indian philosophy. Colebrooke also translated some important philosophical works, a part of which—for example the *Sāṃkhya-Kārikā*—was published posthumously by H. Wilson. In the beginning of XIX century, a few more works on Indian philosophy—like the Latin translation of the Upaniṣads by du Perron—appeared. But compared to the works mentioned before, these were of secondary importance.

The early Indological works played their role in stimulating the interest in Europe in the Ancient and distinctive culture of India. Thus Hegel's chapters on Indian philosophy in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* were based on Colebrooke's essays. According to the contemporaries of Schopenhauer, du Perron's translation of the Upaniṣads served as an important book of reference when he wrote his *World as Will and Idea.*

However, during this period Indian philosophy did not constitute a subject of special and comprehensive study for European scholars. Although these scholars estimated its originality and the depth of its contents and had in no way underestimated its value with respect to ancient philosophy, they viewed it as an insignificant part of the religious, legal, economic and literary notions and norms, which in their opinion, reflected the essence of "Indian mode of life" on the whole.

Approximately from the middle of the XIX century Indian philosophy became a comparatively independent object of study for Europeans. In Europe and America, scholars undertook to publish regularly texts and translations of important Indian philosophical works and the analysis of the development of Indian philosophy assumed a deeper and comprehensive character. Along with the British scholars, German, French and Russian scholars began to play a significant role in the study of Indian philosophy.

During the second half of the XIX and the early XX centuries, many important sources of Indian philosophy like the

Ṛgveda, the Upaniṣads, the Sūtras and their commentaries by major philosophical schools were published. A considerable part of these sources appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, which, in 1847, the Asiatic Society of Bengal resolved to launch and in the *Sacred Books of the East* organized by Max Müller in 1875 under the auspices of the Oxford University. Among the large number of studies in Indian philosophy as a whole and its individual aspects, systems, and the stages of its development published during this period, wide recognition was received by such works as *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*[1], and the *General History of Philosophy*[2]. The first three chapter of Deussen's *General History of Philosophy* were devoted to a thorough analysis of Indian philosophy. Also the works of E. B. Cowell, A. E. Gough, J. Davies, G. Bühler, J. Dahlmann, B. Saint-Hillaire, P. Oltramore, A. Barth, E. G. Thibaut, W. D. Whitney, M. Bloomfield, H. Jacobi, R. Garbe, V. Stevenson, H. Oldenberg and others received wide recognition.

Buddhist philosophy began to attract the serious attention of European scholars, and it became a special branch of study of Indology. The French Orientalist Burnouf is sometimes considered to have been the pioneer of Buddhistic studies in Europe. In fact, however, H. Kern, M. Walleser, T. W. R. Rhys-Davids and his wife C. A. Rhys-Davids, H. Warren, H. Oldenberg and others gave the genuine and profound significance to the study of Buddhism. They were primarily interested in the early or southern form of Buddhism (the Hīnayāna so-called) as recorded in the Pali canons, which were published by the "Pali Texts Society" founded in London in 1881.

A leading place in the study of Buddhism from the later half of the XIX century began to be occupied by Russian scholars who established their own school of Buddhistic studies. W. P. Wassilieff and I.P. Minayeff were the founders of this

1. M. Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1885.
2. P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der philosophy*, Bd. I, 1-3, Abt., Leipzig, 1894-1917.

school, and talented scholars like S. F. Oldenburg, Th. Stcherbatsky, N. D. Mironov and others continued the task undertaken by Wassilieff and Minayeff.[3]

Russian scholars in Buddhistic studies directed their researches mainly to the late or northern form of Buddhism (the Mahāyāna so-called) as recorded in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Korean and Japanese sources. An international event in Buddhistic studies was the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series, established in St. Petersburg in 1897 headed by S. F. Oldenburg and Th. Stcherbatsky till its closure in 1937; it fully bears evidence to the outstanding achievements of Russian scholars in the study of these sources.

Interesting observations on the spiritual life and philosophy of India are contained in the works of the first XIX century Russian scholars in Sanskrit studies and Indology like R. Kh. Lents, P. Ya. Petrov, K. A. Kossovich, P. I. Pushino etc. O. M. Novitskiy,[4] D. N. Ovsyannikov-Kulikovskiy[5] and others, though not Sanskritists and Indologists by profession, also devoted their works to Indian philosophy.

Some books on Indian religion and philosophy were published by the representatives of the Russian church[6]. Moreover,

3. Some of the main works of Russian scholars in Buddhistic studies are : W. P. Wassilieff, *Buddhism : Its Dogmas, History and Literature*, part I, II, III, St. Petersburg, 1857-1869; I. P. Minayeff, *Buddhism ; Studies and Materials*, St. Petersburg, 1887; S. F. Oldenburg, *Buddhistic Legends and Buddhism*, Annals of Oriental Department of Russian Archaeological Society, v. 9, St. Petersburg, 1894; Th. Stcherbatsky, *Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the Late Buddhist Teachings*, St. Petersburg, part I, 1903; part II, 1909 (in Russian).
4. O. Novitskiy, *Essays in Indian Philosophy*, "Journal of the Ministry of Education", part 41, (No. 3, 1844); part 43, (No. 8 1844); part 52, (No. 10, 1846). See also his book *Gradual Development of the Ancient Philosophical Doctrines*, part I, *Religion and Philosophy of the Ancient East*, Kiev, 1860.
5. D. N. Ovsyannikov-Kulikovskiy, *Rudiments of Philosophical Consciousness in Ancient India*, "Russian Wealth", No. 17, 1884
6. Archbishop Nil, *Buddhism*, St. Petersburg, 1858; Mefodly, *Buddhist Church or Lamaism* St. Petersburg, 1902; Kozhevnikov, *Indian Asceticism in pre-Buddhist Period*, Sergiev-Posad, 1914.

in many respects, original views on Indian philosophy can be encountered in some Russian works on the history of philosophy. On the whole, during the XIX century and the first decade of the XX century, more than one thousand books and articles (according to a rough estimate) were published on different aspects of Indian philosophy.

In the XX century interest in Indian philosophy grew immensely in Europe and America, the collection of original sources became wider and a considerable bulk of literature was produced on this subject.

Among the later works on Indian philosophy by western scholars, only a few can be mentioned here : the works of A. B. Keith, P. Masson-Orsel, Gruzett, B. Heimann, H. von Glasenapp, E Frauwallner, H. Zimmer, L. Renou, G. Tucci, F. Chali and others.

Many works are devoted to the particular problems and doctrines of Indian philosophy, mainly of Vedānta and Yoga. The literature on Vedānta and Yoga is extensive and is also tendencious.

Among the works on the other systems of Indian philosophy, the following deserve special mention : B. Faddegon's book on Vaiśeṣika, W. Ruben's book on the theory of knowledge in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and his works on the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, G. Randle's book on early Indian logic etc. In Buddhist studies, a few independent schools, differing both in content of studies (different doctrines and periods) and in interpretation, emerged. An important place in modern Buddhist studies is still being held by the works of the Russian scholars like Th. Stcherbatsky and his pupils O. O. Rosenberg, A. S. Vostrikov, E. Obermiller, B. V. Semichov and Yu. N. Roerich. Among the European scholars, outstanding contributions to the Buddhist studies were made by S. Levi, L. de la Valle Poussin, E. Conze and others. Similarly, the works of the Japanese scholars, Nanze, Vogihara, D. Takakusu, D. Suzuki, H. Nakamura and others received general recognition as prominent publications on Indian Buddhism.

As mentioned earlier, much attention to the history of Indian philosophy is paid in the literature devoted to the so-called problem of "Synthesis of Spiritual Culture of the East and West", specially in the works of C. Moore, F. Northrop, V. Sheldon, G. Conger and others. Moreover, Indian philosophy is partially treated in the works on allied topics of Indology, for example, in the works of L. Renou, J. Filliozat, H. P. Sastri, R. L. Mitra and others.

Indian scholars undertook a deeper study of their philosophy from the twenties of this century. Previously they had published original and comprehensive works on the history of Indian philosophy. Many of these received wide recognition as authentic works on Indology and even today they are valued as precious pieces of work (works of V.V. Athali, B. N . Seal, K. Sastri, M. P. Bodhas, R. G. Bhandarkar, S. C. Vidhyabhushan, etc). However, the number of such works had been comparatively few.

Mass uprising of the national independence movement in India stimulated the interest of the Indian people in Indian history and the Indian spiritual heritage including Indian Philosophy. In the Jubilee volume "Progress of Indic studies"[7], it is said, "The last twenty-five years may adequately by regarded as the period of renaissance in the history of Indological studies. A general resurgence of the spirit of nationalism became evident in India in the first decade of this century. It was not merely a political movement ; indeed it proved to be a veritable source of inspirational basis. Indians began to take a special interest in the ancient history and culture of their motherland. Work of first rate importance had been done—and was still being done—in that field by many a worthy savant of the West. But then gradually came a feeling upon Indian scholars that they could till the soil, which they owned, more fruitfully than foreigners. They therefore applied themselves to Indian studies with renewed vigour and enthusiasm".

7. "Progress of Indic studies, 1917-1942" ed. R. N. Dandekar, Poona, 1942, p. 1.

Indian scholars have published a large number of studies in Indian philosophy. These works—by the width of sources and factual material covered in them and by the comprehensiveness of analysis—can claim to occupy the leading place in Indological studies. Among these, the following are in need of being specially mentioned here : *A History of Indian Philosophy* by S. N. Dasgupta (in five volumes), *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* by M. Hiriyanna, *Indian Philosophy* by S. Radhakrishnan (in two volumes), *Evolution of Philosophy in India* by K. Satchidananda Murty, *The Idealistic Thought of India* by P.T. Raju, *A History of Indian Philosophy* by U. Misra (in three volumes), *The Cultural Heritage of India* published by the Ramakrishna Mission in four volumes and *Philosophy : Eastern and Western* (in two volumes) sponsored by the Government of India containing contributions from more than sixty authors. Besides such works written in English, a large number of works appeared in the modern Indian languages, among which I read mainly Hindi and therefore can mention some published in the Hindi language. Such are *Bhāratīya-darśan-śāstra-kā-itihāsa* by Devraj and Tiwari (Allahabad, 1950), *Bhāratīya-darśana* by B. Upadhyaya (Benaras 1957), *Saṃskṛti-kā-cār-adhyāya* by V. Dinkar (Delhi, 1956) and *Darśana-digdarśana* by Rahula Samkrityayana. A large number of extremely significant works also came out in Marathi, Bengali, Gujrathi, Tamil and other Indian languages, though unfortunately it is not possible for me to mention these here.

From the innumerable works on individual aspects of Indian philosophy mention may be made of the works of G. Jha, K. C. Bhattacharyya, A. Kumaraswami, B. M. Barua, R. D. Ranade, S. K. Belvalkar, T. M. P. Mahadevan, T. R. V. Murty, D. R. Shastry, S. Mukherji and others.

Undoubtedly, in the study of Indian philosophy, bourgeois scholars have achieved significant success. They have done immense and invaluable works on interpretation, publication and translation of sources, chronology of the development of philosophy and interrelation between different schools. They

have done extremely important work from the point of view of solving many purely theoretical problems of ancient and medieval Indian philosophy, not to mention their contributions to linguistic, philological, historical and economical problems inseparably linked with philosophy. The monumental contribution of bourgeois scholars in the field of such a complex and difficult field as that of the history of Indian philosophy, undoubtedly deserves very high honour.

II

Bourgeois scholars have achieved remarkable success in the study of the factual side of Indian philosophy, but their interpretation of this philosophy suffers from a number of serious limitations and calls for serious dissension. The majority of these scholars are adherents of idealism and are influenced by the ideology of some or other school (most frequently Neo-Kantianism or Neo-Hegelianism). So they give an one-sided interpretation of the development of philosophical thought in India and define with a bias its place in the world of philosophy.

In the bourgeois literature there is a deep-rooted belief that Indian philosophy differs from the philosophy of the West both in form and content. They claim that Indian philosophy was the highest form of the expression of the "Asiatic spirit" and its distinctive features are said to be the outcome of the religious, idealistic and mystic tendencies to the problems of "spiritual otherworldly entity", quietism, passive-contemplative attitude towards practical problems of real worldly life. The French Indologist P.A. Masson-Oursel writes, "religion constitutes as if it is the general foundation for all the aspects of Indian life".[8]

This notion about Indian philosophy sprang first in the philosophical works of Western scholars and was eventually accepted some Indian Indologists. Thus, Hegel—one of the

8. P. A. Masson-Oursel, H Willman—Grabowska, Ph. Stern, *L'Inde antique et la civilization indienne*, Paris, 1951, p. 69.

initiators of this viewpoint—says in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* that the essence of Indian philosophy consists in the idea of intellectual substantiality in which the subjective vanity with all its philosophization and reflexes is drowned[9]. Today, a similar intrepretation of Indian philosophy is to be found in the works of the eminent social worker and thinker A. Schweitzer. In his *Autobiography* he writes that Indian wisdom regards "all endeavour towards betterment of external life and society in general to be vain attempts... In Hinduism world and life can never overcome the negation of world and life. India never shed off its inseparable pessimism"[10]. S. Radhakrishnan argues, "Philosophy in India is essentially spiritual. It is the intense spirituality of India, and not any great political structure or social organisation that it has developed, that has enabled it to resist the ravages of time and the accidents of history"[11]. Prof. Sharma of the Benaras Hindu University says, "Western philosophy has remained more or less true to the etymological meaning of 'philosophy', in being essentially an intellectual quest for truth. Indian philosophy has been, however, intensely spiritual and has always emphasized the need of practical realization of truth"[12].

The logical and methodological ground of this apparent fundamental distinction of Indian philosophy from Western philosophy, (the efforts of the Indian scholars to establish these foundations have assumed an intensive character in recent times) have led to the following false notions in bourgeois literature.

1. While Western philosophy is directed mainly towards the study of the external reality, which for the West has the status of an independent entity, for India the spiritual

9. Hegel: *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, vol. IX, book I, Moscow, 1932, p. 131 (in Russian).
10. A. Schweitzer, *My life and Thought. An Autobiography*. London, 1954, pp. 177, 215-216.
11. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1, N. Y., pp. 24-25.
12. C. D. Sharma, *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy*, London 1960, p. 13.

substance transcending this world is the ultimate and veritable reality and the attainment and realization of it is the final goal of man. It is generally considered that this feature of Indian philosophy finds its highest expression in the teachings of Yoga, Vedānta and Buddhism. Although India does not fully deny the worldly life, yet for her it is not the ultimate goal—as in the West—but is only a means to get liberated from the egoistic passions, i.e. a step forward towards "spiritual enlightenment".

2. Cognition of the "ultimate basis of life" in Indian philosophy is attained through intuition, whereas in Western philosophy by rationalism. In other worsd, the whole knowledge in West is based on concrete—empirically and logically provable data—while for India the ultimate reality can be realized only through mystic intuition. Hence Western philosophy regards that the results of all experiences can be communicated through verbal or logical means, while Indian philosophy denies the possibility of communicating the experiences of mystical intuition[13].

3. Unlike Western philosophy, Indian philosophy does not take recourse to the facts of natural sciences and is totally indifferent to scientific methods of objectively studying the external world, which is primarily looked upon from the angle of moral, ethical and psychological motives. Thus, for example, H. Zimmer declares, "There was never in India such close affinity between natural science and philosophy as to bring about a significant cross-fertilization".[14] Apathy of Indian philosophy towards natural sciences is explained by the lack of the capacity of the East for scientific work. The remarks of Whitehead are quite typical in this respect. The East, especially India and China, he says, have given birth

13. See for example *Essays in East-West Philosophy*, Honolulu, 1951 ; F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*, New York, 1946 ; W. H. Sheldon, *God and Polarity : A Synthesis of Philosophies*, New Haven, 1954 ; R. S. Flewelling, *Conflict and Conciliation of Culture*, Los Angeles, 1951, etc.

14 H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, New York, 1951, p. 31.

to great civilizations which inspire genuine admiration by their glorious achievements in arts, literature and philosophy ; but as regards the sciences, their achievements are practically negligible. Although a few individual Chinese or Indian scholars undoubtedly possess all attributes necessary for the quest of knowledge through science, nonetheless if these countries had been left to themselves without the aid of the West, they would never have attained any significant progress in science. The fact is, says Whitehead, that the great Eastern civilizations do not command sufficient balance of thought necessary for scientific research.[15]

15. Vide *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, January 1960, vol. 25, No. 7, Supplement, p. 1.

III

Although, the bourgeois scholars generally recognise that Indian philosophy radically differs from Western philosophy, yet in their attitude to this distinction they are divided into two apparently conflicting but allied camps.

The protagonists of one camp claim India to be the cradle of philosophical wisdom of man, which has retained till today the simple and elemental truth of *philosophia perennis*, which finds its highest expression in religious-idealistic and mystic philosophy.

The early representatives of this trend are F. Schlegel, A. Schopenhauer and V. Cousin. In his works *On the Language and Wisdom of Indians* and in *Lectures on the History of Ancient and Modern Literature*, Schelgel contends that even the most lofty philosophy of the West—ancient Greek idealism—when compared to the striking light and energy of Indian idealism looks like the glimmering Promethean spark before the blinding light of mid-day Sun.[16] V. Cousin urged to kneel before the sublimity of Indian idealism, which, according to him, distinctly stands out against the poverty and humdrum of the latest Western thought.[17]

For Deussen the basic merit of Indian philosophy lies in its "total absence of conflict between religion and philosophy,"

16. F. Schlegel, *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, Heidelberg, 1808; *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literature*, Wien, 1815.
17. V. Cousin, *Course de Philosophie, Introduction a l'histoire de la Philosophie*, Paris, 1828, pp. 15-16.

which is unfortunately inherent to our thought.[18] Max Müller, another outstanding Oriental scholar, fully subscribes to the view of Deussen and proclaims Vedāntic idealism to be the crown of Indian philosophy, because, according to him, human thinking has received the highest development in it.[19]

As an example of such a viewpoint in our times, we can cite the *Oriental Philosophies* published in the United States of America in 1951. In the preface the authors write that India is the true birth-place of philosophy, and therefore the erroneous opinion that speculative thought begins with the ancient Greeks is highly regrettable.[20]

The majority of Indian scholars writing on the history of Indian philosophy take a similar viewpoint and try to ennoble their idealistic philosophy as the highest attainment of the spiritual culture of India.

The representatives of the other trend, on the contrary, consider that Indian philosophy, because of its religious and mystic aspiration, does not deserve any serious attention. It is even useless to speak of its existence as such, for it is inseparably linked with mythology and religion since ages. Thus Hegel, having in view the Chinese and Indian philosophy, contends "all that we call as the Eastern philosophy is generally to a great extent religious notions and religious outlook of the East which could be easily mistaken for philosophy".[21]

The allegation that Indian philosophy is inferior is encountered in most of the general courses on philosophy in the West, where Eastern philosophy is totally excluded as a subject of study.

18. P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd.I, Abt 3, Leipzig, 1920, S. 116.
19. Max Muller ; *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*. Moscow, 1961, p.169 (In Russian).
20. *Oriental Philosophies*, New York, p.x.
21. Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, vol, IX, Book 1, p, 108, (In Russian).

For these authors, Indian philosophy, as a rule, "consists, in the main, of mythological and ethical doctrines which are not thoroughgoing systems of thought: they are shot through with poetry and faith. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves to the study of the Western countries, and begin with the philosophy of the ancient Greeks".[22]

It is worth while to point out here that a somewhat similar attitude towards Indian philosophy is sometimes to be encountered in the works even of some Indian scholars. Thus, K. Satchidanandamurty, Professor at the Andhra University and a staunch protagonist of this viewpoint in India, asserts that Indian philosophy, because of its mystic character, never played a positive role in the life of the country. He writes, "It is sad but necessary to comment that in no Indian philosopher we find the Aristotelian vigour, freshness and rationalism...The scientific spirit is foreign to all of them (Nāgārjuna, Caraka, Suśruta, Āryabhaṭṭa, Varāhamihira, e.a.). Every thinking Indian must put the query to himself why is it that interest in science was born so very late in India and why is it that the works of these few men still contain all sorts of mythologies, and patently absurd superstitions".[23]

Similar nihilistic sentiments among the Indian intelligentsia, as a rule, is the result of a just but extremely aggravated and morbid protest against the still powerful present-day position of religious obscurantism, whose champions pose themselves as the sole heirs of the spiritual culture of ancient India.

22. F. Thilly, *History of Philosophy*, New York, 1914, p. 3,
23. K. Satchidanandamurty, *Evolution of Philosophy in India*, Waltair, 1952, p. 216.

IV

It is not difficult to see that both these trends, despite their apparent contradiction, by moving the religious, idealistic and mystic teachings of India to the foreground and by scrutinizing her whole philosophy through this prism, acknowledge their similarity to each other and there is the same fallacious basis of both. Both these trends are united by their common trait, viz. their extreme subjective and biased approach to Indian philosophy, whose antiquity interests themmainly as an appropriate illustration of their own idealistic concepts. This fact, incidentally, is not concealed by many of them. (It is sufficient to mention the statements of, say, Schopenhauer or Hegel on this point).

This can be suitably illustrated by the interpretation of Indian philosophy by Schopenhauer and his follower P. Deussen—a neo-Kantian by conviction. Schopenhauer sought in Indian philosophy a confirmation of the basic thesis of his subjectivist doctrines on the *World as Will and Idea* : "this dictum is not novel...it was cognised by the sages of India and constitutes the fundamental basis for the Vedic philosophy". This, in his opinion, gave him enough strength to assert "all that was observed for ages among such a populous nation...could not be a concocted fable and fancy, but should be founded on the very human nature".[24] Being enchanted by Śaṃkara's Vedāntic idealism, according to

24. A. Schopenhauer, *World as Will and Idea,* Moscow, 1900, pp. 4, 403-404. (in Russian).

which the whole world is pure illusion (*māyā*), Deussen wrote, "You see the concordance of Indian, Greek and German metaphysics. The world is *māyā*, is illusion, says Śaṃkara ; it is a world of shadows, not of realities, says Plato ; it is 'appearance only, not the thing in itself', says Kant. Here we have the same doctrine in three different parts of the world, but the scientific proofs of it are not in Śaṃkara, nor in Plato, but only in Kant".[25]

It would be a serious error to suppose that these assessments of Indian philosophy are confined only to the academic level. We can easily trace their obvious links with the political interests of social groups.

This is already obvious from some of the statements of the bourgeois authors quoted above, though the question needs a more detailed consideration.

It is clear that the tendency to deny any positive value of Indian philosophy fuses with Europeo-centrism and racialism and it easily turns into their theoretical justification. In this case, the nature of philosophy, as a higher and ultimate expression of the spiritual culture of the people, becomes the decisive criterion for the nature of the very people.

Already in the last century, the outstanding British Indologist A.E. Gough maintained, "The Orientalist will not have to look in the face of the fact of the inferiority of the hereditary type of Indian character ; we may detect continual influences of a climate which, indisposing the organisation for active exertion, naturally cherished those theories which represent the true felicity of man to consist in inward contemplation and complete quiescence."[26]

It is "an exhibition of the thoughts of thinkers of a lower race, of a people of stationary culture, whose intellectual

25. P. Deussen, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, Berlin, 1907, p. 57,
26. A. E. Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads and Ancient Indian Metaphysics*, London, 1882, p. 6.

growth stands almost apart from the general movement of human intelligence."[27]

Similar perverse presentations with a racial bias of the spiritual, moral and cultural heritage of the Indian people are continuing even to this day. As an example we can quote *The Heart of India* by A. Campbell and *A Barbarian in India* by R. Oppenheim.[28] These authors incredibly inflate the significance of the most backward and retrograde features of present day Indian life. They claim that it is a natural consequence of the very essence of Indian life, as if it is an inevitable concomitant of the entire history of the Indian people.

Perhaps the sensational booklet *India : A Country of Wonders and Without Wonders* by the West German journalist Peter Schmidt, is the most outspoken expression of the imperialistic racialism. He declares, for example, that a Westerner having visited India, will certainly call in question the mental capabilities of her population and that the Indians are utterly incapable of mastering modern techniques etc.

This author, as a confirmation to his fantasy, quotes the assessment of the West German engineers working at the Rourkela Steel Plant being constructed with the cooperation of the German Federal Republic : "If you demonstrate to an Indian five times and move away, the sixth time he will do incorrectly".[29]

The German ambassador in New Delhi enthusiastically recommended this trash for display at the Exhibition of German Books at Calcutta. Indeed, it aroused such a general indignation in India and other countries that Bohn was compelled to recall her discredited envoy. Nevertheless the very fact that this and similar works appear again and again is highly significant, inasmuch as the deep-rooted colonial aspirations of the contemporary imperialists break out from

27. *Ibid* p. 2.
28. A. Campbell, *The Heart of India,* New York, 1958 ; R. Oppenheim *A Barbarian in India*, New York, 1958.
29. *Preface* by M. K. Fedorenko to the book *India Dries her Tears* by G. Zikhrovskiy, M., 1962, p. 6-7. (in Russian).

time to time in these works, though the imperialists are forced to conceal cautiously these aspirations in the statements of their official policy and propaganda.

It is not difficult to notice that the denial of the decisive influence of socio-economic foundations on the spiritual and philosophical development in India and appealing to the "Eastern contemplativeness", merely leads to exaggeration of the significance of religio-idealistic and mystic trends in the Indian culture and to attributing the decisive role to culture in all the strata of Indian society, to the allegation that Indians are unconcerned with the material progress, etc.

Very recently the outstanding Japanese Oriental scholar H. Nakamura in his book *Religion and Social Ethics* made an attempt to prove that the predominant religious and philosophical doctrines of India—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism —with their denunciation of mundane life, their preachings of passiveness and their justification of caste distinctions have stood in the way of the development of capitalism in India. The author asks himself above all how it happened that capitalism was never formed in India. He explains this phenomenon with reasons of an essentially religious nature. "It is the religious ethics of Hinduism that, with caste division, places an unsurmountable obstacle to the formation of capital".[30]

At the Fifth International Congress of Sociology held in the U.S.A. in September 1962, A. K. Saran declared : "but the most powerful force against the emergence of both technology and capitalist enterprise is what may be called the relentless self-transcendence of Hinduism".[31]

30. *East and West*, Roma, June-September, 1960, Vol ii, No. 2-3, p. 215.
31. A. K. Saran, *Hinduism and Economic Development in India.* /S.1/ /S.a/ p. 7.

V

To sum up: the bourgeois scholars, consciously or unconsciously, conceal the genuine social causes for the backwardness of contemporary India, the foremost of these being the legacy of the colonial past. They conveniently attribute this backwardness to secondary factors.

In the older colonial times, the scholar-cum-administrators did not feel any need to conceal the utilitarian aspect of their Indological studies. Thus, in the preface to the first English translation of a moral-legal code, it was expressly stated that Englishmen should acquaint themselves with the basic norms, customs and institutions of India so as to fully take the best advantage of the trade relations with India and to utilise to full extent the conquest of Bengal.[32]

W. Jones, the "father" of modern Indology, in the preface to the translation of *Institutes of Hindu Laws*, wrote that if Englishmen desire to utilise the "industrious Hindus" to the maximum extent, they should take into consideration the traditional laws of India and thefore they should know these.[33]

The spirit of colonialism not only penetrated deep into many works of English and other Western bourgeois Indologists, but also had a baneful effect on some Indian scholars engaged in the research of Indian spiritual culture, by way of hindering and suppressing the freedom of scientific researches of some of them. Thus, the Indian historian N. L.

32. *Vivādārṇavasetu, A Code of Gentoo Laws*, London, 1776, p. ix.
33. *Institutes of Hindu Laws*. tr. by W. Jones, London, 1794, p xix.

Chatterji in his paper *It is Necessary to Rewrite the Indian History in Free India* shows that as a result of foreign domination the Indian history, as a rule, has been interpreted to serve the interests of colonialists and racialists and the Western notions about the East. Indian historians had no opportunity to oppose this, because they were well aware of the presence of a definite group of foreign critics always ready to rush to safeguard the interests of their countrymen. N.L. Chatterji writes : "This consciousness of an overseeing, even inquisitional audience constituted a kind of invisible, yet potent, censorship which cast an unhealthy influence on the progress of historical reserach in India".[34]

Many western Indologists took the best advantage of their position as colonialists in their academic activities. They added immense glory to themselves by exploiting the experience and knowledge of the Indian specialists to translate, decipher and interpret the ancient texts, to edit the manuscripts, to compile the indices and commentaries and in transcribing, etc.

Elliot—one of the authors of the eight-volume historical chronicles of India during the Mughal period, published towards the end of last century and which is a pride of British Indology till today—frankly wrote in the *Preface* to one of its volumes, "This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere; since the number of available persons sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration".[35] Thus the Western Indologists were in a more advantageous position than, say, the scholars engaged in diciphering Babylonian or Assyrian cuneiforms or Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Understandably, therefore, the works of Indians as a rule were ignored by Westerners and allowed to remain largely in obscurity. Thus, the Asiatic Socicty of Bengal, which mostly made use of the services of the Indian specialists, modified its

34. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 74.
35. H. M. Elliot, J. Dowson, *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, vol. 3, p. ix.

statutes to allow Indians to become Fellows of the Society only by the end of the XIX century, that is almost after a hundred years of its foundation.

The circumstances mentioned above are not intended to deprecate or deny the real merits of the West-European Indologists. Nevertheless, it will be an error to overlook the fact that those circumstances undoubtedly introduce very significant correctives to its characteristic pretension to absolute impartiality, as if it stands avove all political interests and as if it is guided exclusively by purely scientific motives to which the bourgeois scientists allegedly claim to devote their disinterested energies.

Of late, the Indian bourgeois scholars themselves write about the bias or want of objectivity of many European Indologists. Thus, Prof. N. L. Chatterji just quoted, mentions that the typical Western historian, despite his superficial impartiality, was afterall, "naturally more interested in the achievements of British rule in India than in the greatness of the Indian achievements of past ages".[36] B. Datta, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and historian, comments: "There is a widespread belief among Indian scholars and the educated public that Western Orientalists and Indologists have been invariably actuated by purely academic interests pursued in an objective, scientific, and critical spirit. While some of them have undoubtedly approached their task in an unimpeachable manner, it is not so well-known that a vast majority of them, who have exercised tremendous influence in the world of scholarship, have been motivated by extraneous considerations, both religious and political".[37]

36. *The Modern Review* January, 1953, p. 74.
37. B. Datta, *Western Indologists : A Study in Motives*, New Delhi, 1954, Preface.

VI

However, ever since India has gained her political independence, and has started to play a prominent role in international affairs, the ideology of open colonialism based on Europeocentrism and racialism, is more and more bringing disrepute on itself. Imperialism is compelled to mask these motives by neo-colonial theories of "partnership and collaboration" designed to confine the young state within their sphere of influence. Therefore, we witness today a marked tendeney to replace the older nihilistic approach by a new trend of "flirting" with Indian philosophy and by extolling her "spiritual achievements".

This tendency is very vividly brought out specially in the vast literature devoted to the problems of the so-called "synthesis of spiritual cultures of the East and the West."

The essence of this synthesis, as presented by the bourgeois scholars, reduces itself to the following. They proclaim the spiritual heritage of India,—i.e., in their opinion, the religious, mystic and idealistic views,—to be the "light" destined to free the West from the impasse in which it finds itself as a result of its "pragmatic and utilitarian mode of thinking." The main objective of the Western world lies in mundane pleasures and enjoyments in which the higher and ideal incentives of the spirit are suppressed and all its base, entwining and egoistic tendencies are let loose.

It is generally supposed by them that the West, by mastering the "principles of the Indian concept of reality", can resolve its own contradictions. On the one hand, these principles, they say, eliminate the social contradictions in the West, for these

principles promote close co-operatation between different social groups, just relations between man and man, and non-violent means of resolving the conflicts. On the other hand, these principles serve as a reliable guide in the life of individuals, since they provide a basis for internal unity and integrity, for spiritual serenity and conciliation of oneself and evironment, relieve oneself of the eternal poignancy that life is mortal. Only the material satisfactions, which the West craves for, will not reconcile man to the inevitability of death, that is, will not provide him with spiritual atonement.

Indian philosophy, on the other hand, teaches that man's existence is retained and continued in the absolute infinite, in God—the abode of eternal values, the beginning of all beginnings. This identification with the infinity restores the initial balance between "I" and "not-I", between the individual and the environment. The violation of this balance is the prime cause of dissatisfaction of man's life on the earth, of discord between the individuals, of the contraposition of self to society and to nature. This wisdom of Indian philosophy must be comprehended by the Western world in order to restrain from the evil forces released by it. Only this is capable of saving mankind from the menacing catastrophies.

Indeed, some scholars contend that this wisdom is not alien to the West too, where it is known as *philosophica perenica*. But, novelty and originality are least required in enunciating the basic religious truth of life. Secondly, the message of India to the World lies in the fact that it was India which cultivated this eternally vitalising doctrine and having formed it as the basis of life retained and carried it to our day. In the West this *philosophia perenica* and religion have long since ceased to be significant and, today, they look like alien elements amidst the secular civilization in which the West claims to be its centre. It is for this reason that the West, although superior to India in the field of material achievements, must bow before India with regard to such a radically important question as the understanding of the higher meaning of life.

These efforts to "impregnate" the West with religion and "spiritual life" of India were widespread even earlier, but they have been intensified of late. Thus, H. Von Glasenapp writes that India can enlighten the West with "that all-encompassing serene delight" which is reflected in the life of great sages and men, who had liberated themselves from the secular existence. Only a few European thinkers were able to acquaint the West with this serene delight.[38]

S. K. Maitra, an Indian philosopher, continues practically on the same lines: "The last two wars have shown the bankruptcy of Western thought. The world is, therefore, desperately in need of a new light and that light must come from India. It is only India, with her traditional superiority in the realm of pure thought, that can give the world the message for which it is waiting".[39] S. Radhakrishnan argues that "Indian wisdom is needed today not only to rejuvenate the Indian nation but to reorient the entire human race".[40]

F. Moraes, a well-known writer of India expresses this idea as follows: "The aim should be to build up integrated individuals in an integrated society, and both the East and the West with their differing concepts should contribute to this result. By blending the magnificent achievement of Western science with the Eastern spirit of man's affinity with God, a positive, purposeful synthesis would be achieved, employing science as an instrument not of devastation and destruction but of prosperity, peace and progress. Here India can help and help significantly, perhaps even decisively".[41] P.T. Raju contends with much more emphasis on this point that "the East can impart the spiritual basis to the West. The future

38. H. Glasenapp, *Die Philosophie der Inder*, Stuttgart, 1949, S. 455.
39. S. K. Maitra, *The Spirit of Indian Philosophy*, Benares, 1947, p. 35.
40. S. Radhakrishnan, *Fragments of Confession*—in *The Philosophy of S. Radhakrishnan* ed. by P. A. Shillpp, New York, 1952, p. 11.
41. F. Moraes, *India Today*, N.Y., 1960, p. 242.

of mankind depends on conscientious conciliation and synthesis".[42]

In its turn, India for a long time being drowned in the contemplation of "eternal spiritual truth", and thereby being backward in the economic development compared to the West, should borrow its achievements in this field (of course, retaining her spiritual approaches) as well as its more "modern and vital" political and social organization of "democratic society", by which of course, they understand the capitalistic society. In recent times the British historian A. Toynbee has been an ardent promoter of such ideas.[43]

Hence, the majority of recent bourgeois authors solicit for the "cultural synthesis of the East and West" or the "dialogue of India with the West".

However, it needs to be stressed here that the Western bourgeois thinkers themselves started to exalt the Indian religio-idealistic and mystic tendencies and urged "Western merchantilism" to be "impregnated" with these concepts. Such efforts to elevate the Eastern—most of all the Indian—spirituality laid the foundations for some kind of Eastern-centrism (in this case for Indian-centrism) in the approach to the spiritual culture of India. Although Eastern-centrism emerged in the West, however paradoxical it may be, the most favourable soil for the Indian version of Eastern-centrism is naturally India herself.

In the West, as a rule, only a comparatively narrow circle of bourgeois ideologist and theoreticians—largely the Oriental scholars—were being fascinated by "Eastern spiritualism" and were engaged in exalting it. Compared to this, in India various doctrines of Eastern-centrism often became the moral banner for mass social movements, including the national independence movement and its dominant ideology—nationalism.

The mutual relation of the spiritual cultures of different nations has great significance and deserves the most serious and

42. P. T. Raju, *Radhakrishnan's Influence on Indian Thought* in *The Philosophy of S. Radhakrishnan*, p. 518.

43. A. Toynbee, *One World and India*, New Delhi, 1960.

detailed analysis. Many bourgeois authors are making sincere attempts to analyse this problem and to find out ways and means leading to a mutual understanding of different nations possessing distinct traditions in spiritual culture. However, the religio-idealistic and mystical interpretation of life chosen from the entire mass of spiritual and philosophical heritage of India is peculiar to the bourgeois scholars, and the assertion that this interpretation is the major contribution of India to human civilization serve, above all, the purpose of promoting a kind of idealistic front to fight against the materialistic ideology, specially its highest form Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, depending on a similar interpretation of the philosophical heritage of India, the ideology of reactionary groups in India and abroad are endeavouring to prove that Marxism being the most consistent expression of "Western materialism" cannot be implanted on the Indian soil ; her entire spiritual tradition refutes, they say, this doctrine in principle.[44] Communism is foreign to the spirit of the great Indian civilization[45], asserts the *Pacific Affairs*, and organ of American neo-colonialists. V. Dean, the American specialist on Asian affairs subscribes to this viewpoint. He writes that "the millennial philosophy of Hinduism, reinvigorated by Gandhi for practical application in the twentieth century, is fundamentally incompatible with the ideology of communism".[46]

The defenders of imperialism repose high hopes on the renowned Indian type of piety and spiritualism to barricade against the dissimination of communistic ideas not merely in the Indian continent, but in the world as a whole. Thus the American Professor H. G. Collis in an answer to the questionnaire sent by the Ramakrishna Mission Insitute of Culture wrote that the alienation of the West from the East, and especially from India with her rich religiosity, does premote

44. *Philosophy : Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1, London, 1952, p. 531.
45. *Pacific Affairs*, N. Y., 1954, p. 332.
46. V. Dean *New Pattern of Democracy in India*, Harvard, 1959, p. 202.

only to the dissemination of Marxism and world communism.[47] J.F. Dulles, as early as 1950 said that the religious beliefs of the Eastern countries had deep roots and distinct values. They cannot be reconciled with the communistic atheism and materialism. Therefore, there is a common element between "our ideology and the Eastern religions, and our task is to develop this commonness".[48]

The well-known American diplomat Ch. Bowles[49] writes with ever greater frankness that the religious approach to life, which, in his opinion, has found a pronounced expression in Gandhism, should be recommended to all peoples of Asia and Africa struggling for national independence, in order to safeguard them against the infiltration of communism. This, he believes, would be a more effective way of keeping these people under the influence of the West, than any military or economic assistance. Only then, says he, can the West concede to end with colonialism.

47. *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, Calcutta, July 1962, p. 244.
48. J. F. Dulles, *War and Peace*, N. Y. 1950, p. 229.
49. Ch. Bowles, *The New Dimensions of Peace*, N. Y. 1955, p. 217-8.

VII

It should not be dogmatically asserted that such a speculation on the Indian philosophical heritage, which is basically an artificial exaggeration of its religio-idealistic trends and which sharply contrasts Indian philosophy with the development of philosophical thought of the West, did not meet with any dissension from some of the bourgeois Indologists themselves.

The most fair and impartial of them sincerely attempt to give a more salient and objective interpretation of Indian philosophy. In this connection may be specially mentioned the names of H. T. Colebrooke, R. Garbe, A. B. Keith, B. Heimann, E. Frauwallner and, among Indian scholars, M. Hiriyanna, S. N. Dasgupta, B. N. Seal, D. Sinha and others. Also most of the Russian Indologists of the older generation—I. P. Minaev, Th. Stcherbatsky, O. O. Rosenberg and others—represent this tendency.

These scholars do not agree with the one-sided approach to Indian philosophy, condemn the subjective extremities in their interpretation and caution against an unhealthy exaggeration of India's religio-mystic teachings. They endeavour to concentrate attention on its rational teachings, argue that the contents of Indian philosophy in its general and most significant features do not differ from the ancient and modern philosophy of the West.

Thus, H. T. Colebrooke completely excluded the discussion of the mystic doctrines of India—which were lauded to the skies later on—from his *Outlines of Hindu Philosophy*, because "they belong more to the religious rather than to philosophical

studies".[50] At the same time he perceived that the Indians had deeply analysed many important positive philosophical problems and even argued that "ancient Indians were in that more of teachers than the pupils of Greak philosophers."[51]

R. Garbe also emphasised the importance of Indian philosophy and gave more importance to it than to Greek philosophy, not because of its religiosity and mysticism, as Schopenhauer, Deussen or Müller did, but because of its positive and rational aspects, in which he considered the Sāṃkhya to have excelled.

The Dutch indologist B. Faddegon severely condemned Max Müller for over-exaggerating the Indian irrationalism and mysticism and for his slighting attitude towards the atomistic doctrines, especially of the Vaiśeṣika system, which, in the words of Faddegon, made most interesting contribution to the development of the spiritual culture of India and of the entire mankind. He did not agree with the idea of any fundamental distinction of Indian philosophy from the Western philosophy.[52]

The eminent British Indologist A. B. Keith endeavoured to analyse Indian philosophy in an objective manner by refuting the theory that Indian philosophy cannot be qualitatively compared to Western philosophy. We must agree, he argued, that human wisdom was capable of giving birth to closely interrelated doctrines in different parts of the world.[53] However, he strongly challenged the attempts of Deussen to reduce this similarity to only religio-mystic teachings. According to him, the position of Deussen was based on the firm conviction that only Kant convincingly proved the impossibility of understanding the ultimate reality by the finite mind. Deussen combined those principles with Schopenhauer's doctrine of the will.

50. *Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. ii, London, 1829, p. 27.
51. A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, pt. 2, Cambridge, 1925, p. 613.
52. B. Faddegon, *The Vaiṣeśika System*, Amsterdam, 1918, pp. 7, 9.
53. A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upsniṣads*, pt. 2, Cambridge, 1925, p. 613.

Therefore, Deussen's interpretation of the Upaniṣads was largly conditioned by two factors, viz. to trace the ideas of Kaṇt in the Upaniṣads and to show that only Kant's views reduced to Schopenhauer's principles represented the exclusively valid viewpoint in philosophy. The arguments put forth by those who could not accept his theory were for him simply untenable and their counter-theories were simply invalid.[54]

Some Indian authors are vehemently opposed to the one-sided approach of the Western scholars to Indian philosophy. They demonstrate on the basis of convincing arguments and a large mass of factual material, that Indian philosophy by its content and form is in no way inferior to Western philosophy and therefore it is hardly possible to draw any qualitative distinction between the two.

The standpoint of this section of Indian scholars is clearly enunciated by M. Hiriyanna in the following words: "A characteristic of Indian thought is its richness and variety. There is practically no shade of speculation which it does not include. This is a matter that is often lost sight of by its present-day critic who is fond of applying to it sweeping epithets like 'negative' and 'pessimistic' which, though not incorrect in so far as some of its phases are concerned, are altogether misleading as descriptions of it as a whole. There is, as will become clear when we study our subject in its several stages of growth, no lack of emphasis on the reality of the external world or on the optimistic view of life understood in its larger sense. The misconception is largerly due to the partial knowledge of Indian thought which hitherto prevailed".[55]

Indeed, some Indian scholars, actuated by the correct tendency to prove that Indian and Western philosophies are of equal importance and to illustrate its rational nature and affinity with the natural sciences, themselves transgress all rational limits and commit the fallacy of exaggerating the

54. *Ibid*, p. 592.

55. M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1951, p. 16.

achievements of Indian thought in a desperate attempt to prove that Indian philosophy excels all the latest achievements of the West or that it contains them within its folds.

As an example of such works we can cite the book *Hindu Philosophers on Evolution*, by Prof. Bal Krishnan published in 1934, in which he asserts that the Indian thinkers from time immemorial already knew—and even developed—almost all the basic principles of modern science. Thus, he argues that Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection "under the effect of geographical, climatic or mechanical forces" was already known to the ancient Hindus.[56] The author goes even to the extent of claiming that the ancient Hindus in many respects anticipated the thoughts of Ludwig Feuerbach.[57]

The well-known historian of Indian art, A. K. Kumaraswami, made an attempt to reconcile the transmigration theory with the modern science : evolution is nothing but re-embodiment, death of one and birth of the other in the sequence of time. The philosophical doctrine of the transmigration of soul signifies the re-embodiment and the evolution taking place eternally in nature. It does not in any way contradict the theories of the present naturalists and does not exclude them. On the other hand, Schrodinger arrived at similar conclusions in his book *What is life.*[58]

Often the pseudo-scientific and misguided patriotic enthusiasm of emphasising the scientific basis of all the concepts in the spiritual heritage of India serve to conceal a form of militant obscurantism, of religious fanaticism and national chauvinism, which are sought to be justified by their allegedly past association with those achievements of civilization which the West has attained only recently. By way of ridiculing such arguments of the religious fanatics, Krishan Chandar in his novel *Shikast* (Defeat) speaks through the mouth of his

56. Balkrishna, *Hindu Philosophers on Evolution*, Bombay, 1934, p. 214.
57. *Ibid*, p. 221.
58. *Siddha-Bhārati or Rosary of Indology*, pt. ii, Hoshiarpur, 1950, p. 26.

hero Shyama : "A few years back, when these men had not seen the aeroplane, they vehemently asserted that this idea was a day-dream—man can never fly in the sky. Europeans cannot invent such contraptions. But when they had seen the plane flying in the sky, they immediately changed their attitude and said that it was known to their ancient forefathers".[59]

59. K. Chandar *Defeat*, Moscow, 1958, p. 99 (in Russian).

VIII

It is very interesting to note that the eminent Soviet Indologist S. F. Oldenburg gave a caution to the Indian researches against such an extreme tendency. He said, "the successors of the great ancient culture, namely the scientists of modern India, want to show that much of what is being developed today is already contained in the ancient Indian culture in some form or other. Unfortunately, in a majority of cases, the nationalist enthusiasm deprives the Indian specialists of the necessary objective outlook and misleads them to be oblivious of the course of historical processes".[60]

Many Russian Indologists,—Th. Stcherbatsky in particular —made monumental contributions towards an objective interpretation of Indian philosophy. Russian scholars had highly estimated the achievements of the spiritual culture of India and her philosophical thought and severely condemned those European scholars who, in the words of Stcherbatsky, "alleged that the ancient Indians were incapable of exact thinking and lucid presentation and attributed these qualities exclusively to ancient Greek and modern science".[61]

In one of his articles, he wrote that "among all the ancient nations of ancient Asia, the Hindus are undoubtedly the most talented people. Some of their scientific achieve-

60. *Bibliografia Vostoka* iss. 2, L., 1934. p. 1 (in Russian).
61. Th. Stcherbatsky : *Theory of Cognition and Logic in the Doctrines of Late Buddhism*, 1903, p. LIV (in Russian).

ments in the ancient past are so perfect that the researcher stands amazed and entranced".[62]

Unlike most of the Western scholars, the Russian Indologists perceived the merits of Indian philosophy not in its religio-mystic understanding of the spiritual basis of existence but in its deep analysis of positive philosophical problems which they carefully isolated from the religious and mythological admixtures.

Thus, even in the first Russian review of Indian philosophy published by the University of Kiev, O. Novitsky said, "undoubtedly we can learn much from the philosophical teachings of ancient India. For example, from these we can comprehend how philosophy emerged in acnient times by gradually separating itself from the religious beliefs and poetical fancies".[63]

W. P. Wassilieff, in an effort to present the philosophy of Buddhism, insists on the need to consider religion and philosophy separately.[64] Stcherbatsky always reminded the scholars that in Indian thought "there is a struggle between the purely religious and philosophical trends".[65] The greatest merit of the Russian Indologists, according to him, lies in that they "were able to distinguish Buddhism proper from various alien mystic and even fanatic theories which in the course of time were fused into Buddhism and enwrapped it".[66]

This sober approach of the Russian Indologists to Indian philosophy had its influence on some pre-revolutionary works on the general history of philosophy. Thus, in one of such works is said, "Hindus were fully aware of the distinction between

62. Th. Stcherbatsky, *Scientific Achievements in Ancient India*, L., 1924, p. 4 (in Russian).
63. *Journal of Education Ministry*, Part 41, 1844, p. 154, (in Russian).
64. W. P. Wassilieff, *Buddhism, its Dogmas, History and Literature*, part I, p. 61 (in Russian).
65. Th. Stcherbatsky *Theory of Cognition and Logic in the Late Buddhistic Doctrines*, part I, p. ix.
66. Th. Stcherbatsky, *S. F. Oldenburg as an Indologist*, L. 1934, p. 80 (in Russian).

philosophy and religion and the need to isolate philosophy totally from religion, indeed, to a large extent they themselves made this distinction".[67]

Russian scholars brought to light the common lines on which philosophy developed in India and the West. Yet they did not deny the originality and the specific peculiarity of Indian philosophy. "In my opinion", said Stcherbatsky in his *Preface* to a translation of one of the Buddhist sources, "Indian philosophy has reached a very high standard of development and the principal lines of this development run parallel to those which are familiar to the students of European philosophy".[68]

The merits of the Russian scholars in their studies of Eastern culture—including Indian philosophy—were so outstanding that it was not possible for the foreign Oriental scholars to ignore them. This is clearly acknowledged in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* : "the steadily increasing value of the contribution of Russian Orientalists—and the fact that most of their works are written in Russian makes a knowledge of this language necessary for every serious worker".[69]

Stupendous importance is attributed in India to the works of Th. Stcherbatsky. In an article dedicated to the tenth anniversary of this scholar's death, Prof. D. N. Shastri wrote, "He does not approach Indian philosophical systems, like many a Western writer, to discover in them some old links in the development of philosophical thought. He exposes them in order to bring out their philosophical contents which may claim a place in the world-literature of philosophy. While he brings to bear upon problems of Indian philosophy a highly critical method of a Western thinker, he at the same time approaches them with the faith and devotion of an orthodox

67. A. A. Kozlov, *Outlines of the History of Philosophy*, Kiev, 1887, p. 18 (in Russian).
68. *Madhyānta-Vibhaṅga* tr. by Th. Stcherbatsky. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Vol. xxx, M.-L., 1936, p. iv.
69. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* London, 1900, p. 351.

Indian scholar. No other modern scholar of the Orient or of the Occident has entered deeper into the spirit of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti or Vācaspatimiśra".[70]

Indeed, most of the Russian scholars of the older generations held idealistic standpoint and often shared many opinions—including the non-progressive ones—of bourgeois Indology in general. Nevertheless, in a number of major features, their approach to the spiritual culture of India was markedly distinguished by its objectivity and were in sharp contrast to the onesided, prejudiced and subjective estimation widely prevalent in the bourgeois Indological literature of the West.

70. *The Modern Review*, Feb. 1953, pp. 118-120.

IX

What is the reason for this advantage of Russian Indologists over most of their Western counterparts ? This question is in need of a detailed consideration. Yet we can mention here one obvious reason for this difference. Undoubtedly, it is because of the general atmosphere of sympathy and friendly feelings towards the oppressed people of the East nurtured in Russia in the XIX century under the influence of Russian revolutionary democracy in which the progressive intelligentia was brought up. It is sufficient to mention that the organs of revolutionary democrats like *Otechestvenniye Zapisky* and *Sovremennik* regularly published in their pages materials and reviews on the life of Eastern people, including that of India.

For example, V. G. Belinsky very attentively watched the literature published in Russia on the East and reviewed many books on Indian culture. He was personally acquainted with one of the first Russian Sanskrit scholars, P. Ya. Petrov. The Russian scholar-traveller of the East, P. I. Pashino, had close ties with N. A. Dobrolubov and regularly published his articles in *Sovremennik*. N. G. Chernyshevsky and N. A. Dobrolubov were highly interested in the East, particularly in India, and devoted many moving articles on India, in which, by exposing the groundlessness of Europeo-centrism, they highly estimated the achievements of the peoples of East in the field of culture, warmly supported them in their struggle for national independence and condemned the colonial rampage of the capitalistic "civilizers".

Thus, the great Russian revolutionary democrat N. G. Chernyshevsky strongly denounced the then widespread racial theory on the incompetence of "coloured peoples of the East and the supermacy of the White races of the West". "There is a hackneyed phrase", he wrote, "that the southern races are lazy ; intensively hot climate deprives them of 'energy'. This is a mere phrase and nothing more. Virtues and vices are not confined to some or other region".[71]

The Russian scholars deeply sympathised with the Indian people in their national independence struggle against colonial oppression.

This feeling permeates the diary of the Russian travellers in India, like I. P. Minayeff, in the book *On India* by P. I. Pashino and in other works. In order to appreciate fully the significance of this attitude, it is necessary to remember that none of the Western Orientalists ever condemned the colonial exploitation of India. Further, P. Deussen, one of the leading interpretors of Indian philosophy, called upon the Indian nation to think less about the secular affairs during her struggle against the British domination, but to seek consolation in the blissful serenity which allegedly teaches the mystic-idealistic Vedic philosophy. In 1893 he declared : "The Vedānta is, now as in the ancient time, living in the mind and heart of every thoughtful Hindu...This fact may be for poor India in so many misfortunes a great consolation, for the eternal interests are higher than the temporary ones".[72]

There is every ground to stipulate that the progressive ideology of the Russian revolutionary democrats had had its healthy influence on the methodological approaches of the Russian Indologists to Indian philosophy, and the results of Russian researches were clearly reflected in the statements of the revolutionary democrats on the East. Therefore, it is not an accident that the Russian Orientalists were able to

71. N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Letters on Spain—Collected Works*, Vol. iv, 1948, p. 231 (in Russian).

72. P. Deussen, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, Berlin, 1907, p. 46.

evaluate the spiritual culture of India in the same way as the Russian democrats did about the Eastern spiritual culture.

Chernyshevsky was one of the first Russian thinkers who, even in the Middle of the XIX century, opposed the then widely prevalent viewpoint that Greece is the homeland of philosophy. He emphatically stressed that "all this is only due to the lack of knowledge about the East in those times".[73] Like most of the Russian scholars, Chernyshevsky highly estimated the level of scientific and philosophical thoughts of the Indian nation. In his opinion, the ancient Indians were not only in no way inferior to the ancient Greeks but in many respects were undoubtedly superior to them. He wrote in his *Anthropological Principles in Philosophy* (in Russian) that "the principles explained and proved by the present-day sciences were already found and taken to be true by the Greek philosophers,—and much earlier—by the Indian thinkers".[74]

73. H. G. Chernyshevsky, Remarks on "The History of Civilizations in England by H. T. Bokle", *Collected Works*, xvi, 1953, p. 547 (in Russian).
74. N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Anthropological Principles in Philosophy—Collected Works* Vol. vii, 1950, p. 249 (in Russian).

X

It is beyond doubt that the researches of this group of European, Indian and Russian scholars with a comperatively objective attitude played an important role in exposing the speculative distortions of Indian philosophy and in moving towards the scientific interpretation of its contents. They exerted a positive influence all over the world in forming an objective impression of the Indian nation, the Indian mode of life and the Indian spiritual culture.

It is not an accident that in many recent international and national conferences on the East-West mutual relations, we often hear of the groundlessness of contrasting the features of India with the rest of the world and of the common character of their spiritual development.[75]

In the very Indian soil, the Indian philosophical heritage is interpreted to suit those trends of Indian nationalism which urgently call for the secularisation of social life and questions the exaggerated importance of the principles of non-violence and the false adherence to the religious form of social activities. As an illustration we may quote from the highly respectable bourgeois journal, *The Modern Review*: "*Ahiṃsā* or non-violence has never been the special monopoly of the genius of India. Other peoples also can claim this

75. Vide, for example, *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, June-September, 1962.

distinction with ample justification. The materialism or animality of Indians has never been less in intensity or extensity than that of the other nations of the world. India is the land not only of Buddha, Rāmadās, and Rāmakṛṣṇa, but also of Kauṭilya, Śivāji and Netāji. As full-blooded human beings, Indians,—ancient, medieval and modern,—have always responded to the thousand and one stimuli of the objective universe almost in the self-same manner as have the other historic races of mankind. In the struggle for national liberation from foreign control, what has been true of other peoples has not been untrue in the case of Indians. India achieved her political independence not by means of non-violent methods alone, but also by the orthodox historical method of violence and blood-shed. To attribute the entire success of India's Freedom Movement to the efficacy of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-violent Non-cooperation scheme of political action, of which he himself was not the originator, is to distort truth. The cult of non-violence and the philosophy of the bomb ran *pari passu*, in varying degrees, no doubt, during the whole course of India's Freedom Movement".[76]

This is much more than a convincing rebuff to the efforts of J. F. Dulles, C. Bowles and others similarly trying to misuse the so-called Indian religiosity as a buffer to the peoples of Asia and Africa struggling against colonialism.

76. *The Modern Review*, August, 1962, pp. 103-106.

XI

However, while mentioning the undoubted merits of this trend of approach to Indian philosophy and its progressive character compared to two other trends, we have to stress two points about it. First, the number of the adherents of this school is far less than that of the other trends. Secondly, this trend, as a rule, does not go beyond merely uttering statements like these and is not engaged in practically developing the significant—specially, the materialistic—doctrines in Indian philosophy. Even the most competent representatives of bourgeois Indology, because of their class limitations, are not in a position to renounce many of the established idealistic approaches and therefore are compelled to subscribe to a number of its deep-rooted evils.

Thus the vast majority of bourgeois scholars ignore the central place of the question of the relation between existence and thought—between matter and consciousness—among the philosophical problems and the decisive significance of its solution for characterising the nature of every philosophical school. As a result, they are incapable of properly interpreting the history of Indian philosophy as the history of a struggle between materialism and idealism, between atheism and religion. Bourgeois scholars either totally deny the conflict of ideas in Indian philosophy or admit such conflict only within the framework of idealism by viewing it as the struggle between the three major religions of India—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

Thus, S. Radhakrishnan said, "If we can abstract from the

variety of opinions and observe the general spirit of Indian thought, we shall find that it has a disposition to interpret life and nature in the way of monistic idealism, though this tendency is so plastic, living and manifold that it takes many forms and expresses itself even in mutually hostile teachings".[77]

P. T. Raju, another eminent philosopher of modern India, argued that in India there were many pluralistic systems, starting from the qualitative and quantitative pluralism of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika and ending with the qualitative dualism and quantitative pluralism of Sāṃkhya and Yoga. However, he continues, Indian tradition subordinated all these systems to idealistic Vedāntic monism and regarded them as but pathways to this higher ideology.[78] Earlier P. T. Raju wrote, "all Indian systems, whether theistic or atheistic, realistic or idealistic, pluralistic or monistic, have a spiritual aim and outlook, with the exception of the materialism of the Cārvākas".[79]

Among the European scholars, the viewpoint of Heimann is very significant in this respect. Though vehemently opposed to the artificial over-exaggeration of the mystical and spiritualistic aspects of Indian philosophy, she denies at the same time the possibility of tracing in Indian philosophy the trends like materialism, idealism and dualism, which are inherent in Western philosophy. In her opinion, all forms of Indian philosophical doctrines are displayed in the general consolidating and reconciling principle of "transcendental materialism", which "rises above single empirical observations and postulates the transformation of one empirical form into another, and finally of all these into a static shapelessness which is beyond all empirical experience".[80]

As a typical example of the representation of Indian spiritual culture in the form of an idyllic picture of peaceful

77. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 20.
78. *Revue internationale de philosophie*, No. 37, Brussels, (p. 275, 1956).
79. *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, N. Y., October, (p. 537, 1952).
80. B. Heimann *Indian and Western Philosophy*, London, 1937, pp. 47, 61.

coexistence of different doctrines, we can cite the words of the Indian historian R. C. Majumdar. He claims that, unlike in ancient Greece, free thinking and science flourished in ancient India. "As a matter of fact, freedom of thought and enquiry has been a special characteristic of ancient Indian culture and people were at liberty to express any views about God, man and earth, even to deny the existence of God or the sacred character of the Vedas, without any fear of being condemned like Socrates in the ancient and Galileo in modern Europe".[81] The French Indologist, L. Renou likewise considers that an extraordinary tolerance and absence of any kind of persecution in the ideological front are characteristics of Indian spiritual culture.[82]

81. *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, No. 10, (p. 467, 1953).
82. L. Renou, *Religions in Ancient India*, London, 1953, p. 9.

XII

A reduction of the positive contents of Indian philosophy to the idealistic school is being used by the bourgeois scholars in order to disparage, directly or indirectly, the significance of materialism in the development of Indian philosophy or to completely deny its existence there. Thus, the American professor B. Phillips, depending on a similar interpretation of Indian philosohy, says that a Western scholar studying the Indian philosophical tradition is amazed by the complete absence of any stable form of philosophical naturalism in it (i. e. materialism—author's note). The most probable reason for this, he thinks, is the fact that naturalism is perhaps inwardly recognised as a fallacious doctrine by the mature philosophical thought of India, while for the comparatively young Western civilizations, materialism—in the words of Phillips—has not as yet lost its deceptive attractiveness.[83]

Whenever the bourgeois philosophers acknowledge the presence of materialistic traditions in Indian philosophy, they see it, as a rule, exclusively in the system of Cārvāka-Lokāyata, the philosophical worth of which, in their view, is very doubtful, if not negative or reactionary. Moreover, they assign to it, at best, the role of some catalyst or some form of thought whose value consists mainly in helping the growth and strengthening of idealism by way of helping to avoid many evils of dogmatism. Perhaps, the most frank and inadvertent attitude towards Indian materialism is evident in

83. B. Phillips, "Radhakrishnan's Critique of Naturalism" in *The Philosophy of S. Radhakrishnan*, p. 120.

Deussen's words, namely "by its superficiality and cynicism it excels materialism of the West".[84]

B. Heimann wrote in a slightly more restrained but in the same spirit on the position of the Indian materialists. In her words, the "materialists, the so-called Cārvākas, have never influenced the general Indian attitude of mind, except by affording a stimulus to all other systems for the discussion and the emphatic refutation of their ideas ; and in the diverse philosophical systems that of the Cārvākas always ranked lowest among the sixteen that were recognised, lower even than that of those who worshipped the strange metal mercury as a deity".[85] S. Radhakrishnan also holds similar views : "Materialism undoubtedly had its day in India, and according to sporadic records and constant and determined efforts on the part of other systems to denounce it, the doctrine apparently enjoyed widespread acceptance at one time. Nevertheless, materialism could not hold its own : its adherents have been few in number, and its positive influence has been negligible. Indian philosophy has not been oblivious to materialism ; rather, it has known it, has overcome it, and has accepted idealism as the only tenable view, whatever specific form that idealism might take."[86] Another Indian scholar, Prof. C. D. Sharma, affirms that in Indian philosophy materialism was never a significant factor. Being merely the result of dissatisfaction, it was soon replaced by more serious thoughts and it never received the serious consideration of Indian philosophers.[87] Even Indologists like Hiriyanna, Stcherbatsky and others, who did not disdain Indian materialism, reduced it as a rule only to Cārvāka-Lokāyata school and did not hold any high opinion of its achievements [88]

84. P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, S.13.
85. B. Heimann, *Indian and Western Philosophy*, p. 59.
86. *A Sourcebook of Indian Philosophy*, ed. by S. Radhakrishnan and C. A. Moore, Princeton, 1957, p. xxiii.
87. C. D. Sharma, *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1960, p. 40.
88. M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 188-189 ; Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Vol I, Leningrad, 1932, pp. 15-16.

The denial by the bourgeois scholars of the conflict between materialism and idealism as the pivot of the development of Indian philosophy often leads them to misrepresent its history as an aggregate of separate philosophical systems, mutually supplementing one another in dealing with the spiritual principles of existence or being but successive steps that ultimately lead to the attainment of these principles. Depending on the sympathies of the scholars, some or other system—though usually the absolute idealism of Vedānta—is imagined to occupy the apex of this pyramid.

A typical picture of such a representation of Indian philosophy can be traced to the works of U. Mishra. Each philosophical school, he says, selects its own angle of view on reality and develops within this viewpoint its own inner system of criteria and structure. Thus, in his opinion, all the schools of Indian philosophy are continuous links of a single chain.[89] He includes the materialism of Cārvāka as the lowest link in this chain, and, in his own words, Cārvāka's materialism is designed only for those who have not as yet elevated themselves beyond the emotional contemplation of truth for "its entire philosophy is confined to the treatment of things perceptible".[90]

The history of the philosophical systems proper is usually presented as the development of those ideas and verified axioms which were known from deep antiquity in the *sūtras* by their semi-mythological authors and which later were only elaborated in the commentaries by their later adherents. In other words, it is stipulated that the principle trend of each system and its methods in solving the basic problems have not undergone any radical modification during all stages of its existence.

This viewpoint is very lucidly and distinctly enunciated by S. N. Dasgupta in the following words : "A system in the *sūtras* is weak and shapeless as a newborn babe, but, if we

89. U. Mishra, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, Allahabad, 1957, p. 29.
90. *Ibid*, p. 28.

take it along with its developments down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, it appears as a fully developed man, strong and harmonious in all its limbs. It is therefore not possible to write any history of successive philosophies of India, but it is necessary that each system should be studied and interpreted in all the growth it has acquired through the successive ages of history from its conflicts with the rival systems as one whole".[91]

91. S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 63-64.

XIII

Indeed, some scholars do not agree with the idea that the Indian philosophical schools can be represented as stages of the development of a single continuous doctrine, and its latest stages have developed and strengthened the ideas which had already emerged earlier. M. Hiriyanna, for example, points out that..."in their case, it was forgotten that they do not stand for a uniform doctrine throughout their history, but exhibit important modifications rendering such wholesale descriptions of them inaccurate".[92] Even towards the end of the last century, R. Garbe noticed the fact that such schools of Indian philosophy, as Nyāya or Vaiśeṣika, which were traditionally considered to be religio-orthodoxial systems, in fact, acquired religious tinge only during the comparatively late periods of their development ; in the early stages those were free from them.[93]

However, even when the bourgeois scholars trace the evolution of separate Indian philosophical schools, they fail to see the basic philosophical problems sought to be solved by Indian thinkers. Therefore, it is not surprising that in bourgeois literature the adherence to one of the religious creeds of India—Hinduism, Buddhism or Jainism—is considered to be the basic criterion for each philosophical system. Consequently the entire history of Indian philosophy is represented

92. M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 16.
93. R. Garbe, *The Philosophy of Ancient India*, Chicago, 1899, p. 23.

as it were continuously interlinked with these religious creeds, or to be more exact, squeezed into their framework.

The main reason for this one-sided—in fact, distorted—interpretation of Indian philosophy by bourgeois scholars is to be sought in the fact that, because of the idealistic bias in their outlook, they ignore the social significance of philosophy and do not comprehend the truth that philosophy is the product of concrete social environment. Bourgeois scholars frequently refer to Indian philosophy as a self-determined phenomenon, whose contents they hope to understand primarily through textual and linguistic analysis of its sources.

When they are faced with the problem of the incentives or motives of philosophical development in India, they frequently take recourse to the tropical conditions and Indian climate, and consider these as having a direct influence on philosophy and the spiritual peculiarity of the country. Although, specially in the early stages of its development, the geographical environment undoubtedly had left its imprints on the spiritual culture of India, its influence is always outweighed by the socio-economic structure of the country—which is the ultimate and decisive cause of all superstructural phenomena.

The bankruptcy of the theory which attributes greatest importance to geographical factors can be easily judged from the queer fact that it leads to diametrically opposite conclusions in the writings of the different authors. Some of these authors paint the natural conditions of India as a heaven on earth as it were. Such heavenly conditions are imagined to have relieved the countrymen of the heavy burden of finding daily bread. Therefore, Indians could devote almost all their time to contemplating the mysteries of existence and higher philosophical thoughts. Hence was their specific achievement in philosophy. For others, these same natural conditions had a contrary effect on Indian thought. They represent those conditions as gloomy, calamitous, and appalling in their destructive effects. The Indian people lived as if under the total control of these conditions, which completely sterilised

all stimuli to free philosophical thinking by their negative, religio-mystic and pessimistic nature.

Thus, the first viewpoint is described by Max Müller as follows. In ancient India there never could have been a struggle for existence. Nature profusely endowed the people with all the necessary means of existence, and the people also requiring scanty, could live like birds and could rise like them to the blue skies, to the eternal source of light and truth.[94]

We come across the same standpoints with a slight modification in P. Deussen, U. Mishra and others. For instance, U. Mishra recently wrote that the geographical position of India, her moderate climate, dense and shady forests, scenic beauty, abundant rainfall, fertile soil, which does not require great efforts to obtain rich harvests, etc, etc, —all combined together, "have helped the Indians from time immemorial to live a calm and peaceful life and devote their time and energy mainly to the understanding of the various problems of life, of the mysteries of the universe, of the secrets of death, of the powers beyond human control, and so on, in order to realise the ultimate goal of life".[95]

As an example of the contrary viewpoint, shared in varied degrees by many Indologists, we can quote K. Satchidanandamurti. Vast mountains, great rivers and boundless plains, as he says, stifle the men. Poisonous cobras and scorpions, clouds of mosquitoes, flies, rats and the epidemics of cholera, maleria and pox etc spread by them are a daily scene in India. Rapid rivers and the yearly floods which take away a heavy toll of life and cause irrepairable loss to harvests, the uncertainty of monsoons and their untimely advents lead to droughts and famine, and torrential rains, frightfull storms in the rainy season—all these are so much destructive and inevitable that any—even superhuman—efforts end in vain. Man is not only utterly incapable of controlling but even

94. Max Müller : *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, Moscow, 1900, p. 2 (in Russian translation).

95. U. Mishra, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

understanding these dreadful forces of the nature. The very climatic conditions in India give birth to specific mental traits in which scientific thinking is crippled. Man is inclined more towards fantasy and grotesque prejudices. Thus, he argues, the geographical environment conditions the character of religion and philosophy, literature and art, laws and habits of the country.[96]

Is it necessary to cite more instances to illustrate how idealism and subjectivism in science lead to diametrically opposite and mutually exclusive conclusions from one and the same objective premises ?

Bourgeois Indology revolves within a closed sphere inherent in its methodological vices, from which, even with the sincere efforts of some of its representatives, it cannot break away because of its idealism. Exactly this adherence to idealism is the major reason why the bourgeois science—to quote the words of the eminent German Indologist and a Marxist, W. Ruben—"could not create the scientific history of Indian philosophy".[97]

Incidentally, the representatives of bourgeois science are recently being driven to admit similar views. Here one fact stands out from the rest. Amongst the flaws in their efforts to interpret Indian philosophy in the light of bourgeois Indology, they mention such factors as the consideration of philosophy in isolation from concrete historical conditions of its existence and the ignoring of the struggle between the materialistic and idealistic doctrines. Thus, C. D. Bhattacharyya, in his Address to the 32nd Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress, mentioned that the histories of philosophy written till that day did not meet the very criteria established by Hegel for such kinds of works ; for writing a scientific history of Indian philosophy, requires a fresh re-examination of its sources and revaluation of its course of development, and

96. K. Satchidanandamurti, *Evolution of Philosophy in India*, pp. 25-28
97. W. Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Berlin, 1954, S. 15.

above all, a comparison of its contents with the social situation of their periods.[98]

In the Third International Philosophical Congress held in Honolulu in 1952, for the first time in the history of this organisation we heard the statement that a sharp boundary-line between the Western and Eastern philosophies cannot be drawn, because "the distinction between idealism and naturalism (i.e. materialism)—be it in the West or in the East—is more essential than the distinction between the West and the East proper".[99]

98. *Proceedings of the 32nd Indian Philosophical Congress*, Srinagar, 1957 p. 63.
99. *The Journal of Philosophy*, N. Y. (7. 1. 1960), p. 27.

XIV

Of late, the study of Indian philosophy from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism is beginning to gain ground in interpreting the philosophical heritage of India. Its influence undoubtedly is being felt in many of the above-mentioned statements of bourgeois scholars.

Despite the fact that the Marxists have only recently started their attempts to analyse the problems and history of Indian philosophy, they have to their credit a considerable number of works which have received wide recognition among the Orientalists of the world.

Naturally, the greatest attention is devoted to the Marxist analysis of the history of Indian philosophy and her socio-political thought in the writings of the Indian Marxists themselves. Among them, we can mention the works of R. Sankrityayana[100], D.P Chattopadhyaya[101], K. Damodaran[102] and others. Similarly, the philosophical and socio-political thought of India are also analysed in the historical works of Indian Marxists like S. A. Dange[103], D. D. Kosambi[104] and in the informative articles of B. Sen, Y. Balaramamurty, R. B. Sharma etc.

100. R. Sankrityayana, *Bauddha Darśana.* Allahabad, 1948 (in Hindi).
101. D. P. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata: A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism,* Delhi, 1959. *Indian Philosophy: A Popular Introduction,* New Delhi, 1964.
102. K. Damodaran, *Spirit of India,* Ernakulam (in Malayalam).
103. S. A Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery,* Moscow, 1950 (in Russian tr.).
104. D. D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* Bombay. 1956

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Marxist study of Indian philosophy is also being carried out in Europe. One of the first attempts to give Marxist exposition to the history of Indian philosophy is contained in the *History of Indian Philosophy* written by the German Indologist W. Ruben[105] (GDR). The Czech Indologist O. Fris also did much in the direction of analysing different problems of Indian philosophy, especially materialism.[106]

A conspicuous place in the study of Indian philosophy from the Marxist standpoint is occupied by the Soviet Scholars. They are continuing and developing the best traditions of the Russian pre-revolutionary Indological school.

Even after the establishment of the Soviet power, many Indologists of the pre-revolutionary school of Orientology continued their activities and two of the outstanding representatives of this school—Th. Stcherbatsky and S. F. Oldenburg—went on training the gifted Indologists like E.E. Obermiller, A. I. Vostrikov, B. V. Semichov etc.

Most of them stood with honour the severe trial of loyalty to the country. Although, some of the Russian Indologists, associated with the old regime by their origin, education and ideology, did not realise the real significance of the Great October Revolution, none of them were antagonistic to Soviet power and did not interrupt their researches in spite of all the difficulties of the early post-revolutionary years. S. F. Oldenburg energetically called upon the old Russian intelligentsia to co-operate with the Soviet order, and he held a number of key positions in the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

In 1922, Th. Stcherbatsky in the *Preface* to one of his translations of Buddhist sources characterised the situation of Russian Indology as follows : "If today, after almost six years, when it was so difficult to publish, an opportunity is being envisaged to accomplish at least a small fraction of previous plans, it is all due to the efforts, above all, of those workers, who despite the difficulties and sacrifices, did not

105. W. Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Berlin, 1954.
106. O. Fris, *Indian Materialism* in "Archiv Orientalni", Praha, vol. 19, No. 3-4 (1951).

think of deserting the country, always believed in her inevitable and rapid recovery and did not spare their energies in fighting against the devastation".[107]

A keen and sympathetic attitude towards this science on the part of the young Soviet Government, Bolshevik Party and Lenin himself has been responsible for urging the old Russian scholars in Orientology to take a patriotic standpoint. Lenin repeatedly took interest in the development of Russian Oriental studies and extended active help to the workers on this field. It is well known that Lenin received the senior Russian Orientalist S. F. Oldenburg and discussed with him the significance of Oriental studies.

Th. Stcherbatsky carried out his fruitful researches in Indian philosophy during the years of Soviet power. His fundamental works[108] and some translations of Buddhist sources were published immediately after the October Revolution. He did not confine himself only to the study of Buddhism—a traditional subject of research for Russian Indologists—but extended his studies to other problems of Indian philosophy. Thus in 1924, he published an interesting paper on the scientific achievements in ancient India, and his outstanding article on the materialistic school of Cārvāka-Lokāyata appeared in 1927[109]. On his recommendations, his pupil B. V. Semichov undertook a study of the conception of matter in the southern schools of Buddhism[110]. Interesting studies in Indian (mainly Buddhist) philosophy were published by E. E. Obermiller and A. I. Vostrikov and others.

107. Dharmakīrti's *Santānāntara-siddhi* [Proofs for the Existence of other Minds] from Tibetan by Th. Stcherbatsky, Petrograd, 1922, p. v (in Russian).
108. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the word Dharma*, London, 1923 ; *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad, 1927 ; *Buddhist Logic*, 2 vols. Leningrad.
109. Th. Stcherbatsky. *On the History of Materialism in India*, "Oriental Transactions", vol. I, Leningrad, 1927 (in Russian).
110. B. V. Semichov, *Matter in Pali Philosophical Literature*, "Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR", ser. VII, No.5, 1930 (in English).

Th. Stcherbatsky and his pupils endeavoured to develop some new approach to Indian philosophy by way of concentrating their energies on the directions of its progressive contents. Yet their works were tainted with the neo-Kantian outlook and were unable to shake off the limitations of bourgeois Indology. The works M.A. Reisner.[111] and M.S. Troitsky[112] are probably the first attempts to analyse Indian ideology and philosophy in the light of Marxist theory.

In spite of some of their disputable and erroneous formulations, these works played an important role in throwing light on the religious and philosophical teachings of ancient India.

However, genuine and wide researches in Indian philosophy were undertaken in the Soviet Union (and of course in other countries) only in the fifties and sixties of this century. Soviet Indologists began to translate important philosophical, religious and socio-political works of ancient India—for instance, the first book of *Mahābhārata* (V.I. Kalyanoff), *Arthaśāstra* (the same author), extracts from the Vedic hymns and Upaniṣads (V.V. Brodov), the Principal Upaniṣads (A. Ya. Syrkin), *Laws of Manu* (G.F. Illyin), *Dhammapadā* (V.N. Toporov), and some Buddhist Jātakas (A. P. Barannikov and O. F. Volkova), the anthology of ancient and medieval Indian philosophy (N. P. Anikeev), etc.

It is necessary to mention here the stupendous work of the late B. L. Smirnov, who translated and provided commentaries to a large part of the philosophical aspects of the *Mahābhārata*, reflecting the Sāṃkhya philosophy of the epic period.[113]

111. M. A. Reisner, *Ideology of the East: Essays on Eastern Theocracy*, M., 1927. (In Russian).
112. M S. Troitsky, *Materialism in Ancient India* L., 1936 (in Russian).
113. *Mahābhārata, vol I-VIII, Tr., Introduction and Commentary* by Acad. B. L. Smirnov, Ashkabad. 1957-63.

Special researches of Soviet Indologists like G. F. Illyin,[114] A. M. Pyatigorsky[115], E. I. Gosteeva[116], I. M. Kutasova[117] N. P. Anikeev[118] and others are devoted mainly to the studies of the different aspects and doctrines of ancient and medieval Indian philosophy.

Moreover, the works of the Soviet authors I. M. Reisner, A. M. Dyakov, N. M. Goldberg, K. A. Antonova, L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya, A. D. Litman, E. N. Komarov, E. V. Paevskaya, V. S. Kostyuchenko and others are devoted to the socio-political and philosophical thoughts of recent and present India. They contain interesting observations on ancient and medieval Indian ideology and philosophy, associated largely with the influence of ancient heritage on the modern spiritual life of the country.

A systematic exposition of the history of Indian philosophy in the six-volume history of world philosophy [119] and the *Philosophical Encyclopaedia* published by the Institute of Philosophy under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences (U. S S. R.) have to be acknowledged as the greatest contributions of the Soviet Indologists to the study of Indian philosophy.

114. G F. Illyin, *Religions of Ancient India*, M., 1959.
115. A. M. Pyatigorsky, *Materials on the History of Indian Philosophy*, Moscow, 1952.
116. E. I. Gosteeva, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, Tashkent, 1952.
117. I, M. Kutasova, *Nāgārjuna in Socio-political and Philosophical Thoughts of India*, Moscow, 1962.
118. N. P. Anikeev. *Concerning the Materialistic Traditions in Indian Philosophy*, Moscow, 1965.
119. *History of Philosophy*, ed. M. A. Dynnik, M. T. Iovchuk, B. M. Kedrov M. B. Mitin, A. F. Okulov, vol.I-VI, Moscow, 1957-1965.

XV

Marxist exposition of the history of Indian philosophy in all countries are distinguished by their scope and diversities both with respect to the theme (study of philosophies of different periods and trends) and with respect to the method of approach (including the attempts in the structural and functional analysis of the ideological and psychological doctrines). Nevertheless, in their approach to the spiritual heritage of India, the majority of Marxist scholars are characterised by a number of common methodological principles, among which the following are in need of being specially mentioned.

Unlike many of the bourgeois Indologists, the study of the spiritual and philosophical heritage of ancient India does not lead the Marxists to the labyrinth of pseudo-scientific creeping empiricism, it does not serve them as means to escape from the present reality and does not deprive them of the general perspective. The Marxist scholars start from the principle that the past history of all countries, especially of such ancient lands like India, are uninterruptedly interlinked with the present history and the study of the past is necessary to understand the present and move forward to the future.

What is more significant is that the study of ancient culture is an urgent necessity for promoting the cause of the toiling classes. Even in the early days of the Soviet power, Lenin emphasised the importance of the study of ancient cultures, especially the culture of India. In his conversations with S. F. Oldenburg, Lenin said: "Well, here is your subject. It seems far away. Yet it is close. Go to the masses, to the workers, and tell them about the history

of India...and see how they will respond to it. And you yourself ..draw inspiration from it for fersh research, work and study of great scientific importance".[120]

In contrast to bourgeois scholars, the Marxists lay special stress on the study of the progressive, rational, atheistic and materialistic traditions in the philosophical heritage of India, reveal the positive outlook in the spiritual culture of the Indian people and of the entire mankind, their struggle against reactionary, religio-idealistic and mystic teachings.

Thus, the late Ajoy Ghosh, the leader of the Communist Party of India, declared, that "while we Communists wish to change much, we wish also to preserve and develop all that is noble, popular and humanist in our past."[121] While continuing the progressive traditions of the best representatives of bourgeois Indology, the Marxists are vehemently opposed to the subjective distortion of the contents of the philosophical heritage of India, and to the prejudiced approach to it. Marxist researches conclusively demonstrate that the philosophical thought of India, despite a number of specific features, obeys the general laws of philosophical development of human race as discovered by Marxism-Leninism. And above all, under no circumstance, it is to be viewed as the "spontaneous product of the Asiatic spirit", as contended by the majority of bourgeois scholars. On the contrary, it is interlinked with the material conditions of life of the Indian society. "It is this law of social development [the deciding impact of social existence on social consciousness—author's note] that enabled Marxism to attribute a scientific character to the study of history and philosophy, and this science can be applied in equal degree to India and her traditions", [122] wrote Bhowani Sen.

120. Vide V. V. Bonch Bruevich, *V. I. Lenin in Petrograd and Moscow*, Moscow 1956, p 32 (in Russian).
121. *New Age*, New Delhi, April 1958, p 5.
122. B. Sen, *Bhārat-kā-bhautikvādī-darśana* in *Naya Path*, (Feb. 1955), p. 195. (In Hindi translation)

The Marxists, depending on an immense wealth of factual material, prove that the history of Indian philosophy covering so many centuries, is under no circumstance to be reduced only to religio-idealistic and mystical traditions—atheism, materialism and rationalism always stood against all these. These healthy traditions are to be traced to the early beginning of Indian philosophy (in *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads*) and are to be found throughout the course of its development, although, as a result of the efforts of the antagonists, these progressive traditions have reached us in an extremely impoverished and distorted form.

Finally, an objective analysis of Indian philosophy has enabled the Marxists to reach the extremely significant conclusion, namely that the materialistic and atheistic trends in Indian philosophy are far from being confined only to the Cārvāka-Lokāyata doctrines, as it is generally accepted in bourgeois Indology. The fact on the contrary is that these trends are also found in some degree or other in the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika and other systems, which are usually represented as religious doctrines.

Marxist scholars show that the genuine and positive contents of the spiritual culture of India developed primarily along the progressive trends of philosophy and social thought, because they formed a perfect base for the vital optimistic attitude of Indian people towards the surrounding reality, promote to maintain the will and balance of spirit in the arduous periods of its existence and to create a rich civilization, even to rise above the miseries of the secular life, though sometimes with the religio-idealistic mystic fantasies designed to perpetuate a belief in the bright future.

Thus H. Mukherjee, an Indian Marxist, wants to clear away the widespread and essentially erroneous concept—originating in the West—of the spiritual culture of India as pessimistic and negating the material world and secular life, wrongly glorified by the West as the religio-mystic attainments of "spiritual secrets of existence". Hence he argues that this viewpoint cannot he in harmony with Indian art, painting, sculpture, and

poetry, and with Indian attainments in technology, in metallurgy and ship-building. It is not in agreement with the history of Indian cities like Pāṭaliputra of the Maurya period in which the population exceeded four-fold that of Roman empire during its flourishing period. This viewpoint is not consistent with Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, with the living, energetic heroes of Indian epics, with the traditions of the materialists and heretics, which could not be eradicated either by the orthodoxy or the state power. Indian history could not have been traced to even a thousand years, if the negation of world and life constituted the Indian peculiarity. [123]

The Marxist philosophers do not deny the well-known role of the idealistic doctrines in the positive development of Indian philosophy, do not belittle the importance of these in analysing the philosophical problems, categories and dialectical problems of logic and theory of knowledge. Exposition of these problems often comes into clash with the blind religious beliefs, cult rites and mythological dogmas. However, in contrast to bourgeois Indologists, the Marxists clearly realise that idealism, with its central principle of the world as a temporary, deceptive and illusory existence of the absolute spirit or consciousness, was not in a position to stimulate a serious study of the objective processes and laws of nature and consequently did not promote the development of the natural sciences.

Of course, this spirit of the Marxist approach to the history of Indian philosophy is most vividly embodied in the fundamental works of Prof. D. P. Chattopadhyaya. By their depth of theoretical analysis and practical trend, these deserve detailed consideration.

He points out those difficulties which are encountered in bourgeois world when an attempt is made to reconsider the centuries-old deep-rooted notions of religio-idealistic ideology. He writes that "we are ourselves brought up in an atmosphere in which our teachers took special pride in telling us

123. H Mukherjee, *Gandhi : A Study*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 328.

that the concepts of *mokṣa* and *avidyā*, of *karma* and *yoga*, are evidences of the outstanding importance of Indian philosophy. As such, we have no illusion as to how deep had been the veneration for these ideas. To try to be critical of these entails the risk of incurring great displeasure and even of being suspected of anti-national sentiments. But truth is not necessarily what we have become accustomed to imagine as true for centuries and something being time-honoured is no sufficient reason for its acceptance".[124] D. P. Chattopadhyaya shows that the dominance of religious bias, blind adherence to conservative traditions and customs, though not the only causes of social and cultural backwardness in India, are nevertheless important factors contributing to it. It is difficult to expect from the Indian peasants, he says, genuine enthusiasm for land reforms and for advanced agricultural techniques until we eradicate from their consciousness the doctrine of *karma*, which for centuries has fixed in their minds the idea that their present miseries are but the results of their own past misdeeds rather than of under-developed methods and the backward feudal social structure. Feudalism, he continues, exists also in the minds of Indian people in the form of retrogressive ideas, among which there are many time-honoured ideas of religious philosophy. He argues that "we cannot hope to retain any softness for these and yet work for the complete liquidation of feudalism. It is not denied, of course, that the most important precondition for the liquidation of the feudal ideas is the liquidation of the material conditions that gave birth to these. But since such ideas also react back on their material conditions and try to entrench these, an effective struggle against these material conditions presupposes also a conscious struggle against their ideological counterpart".[125]

124. D. P. Chattopadhyaya, *Indian Philosophy*. p. xiii.
125. Ibid, p. xii.

While calling upon the people to shake off such past ideals and the consoling deceptive influence of religio-idealistic dogmas, he argues that in the modern conditions of independent development of India it is necessary first of all to control the forces of nature and comprehend its laws. This is possible only with the help of science and genuine science is always closely linked with the materialistic philosophy. Therefore, the study of the materialistic traditions is urgently needed to fight the religious prejudices and to help the spread of the scientific viewpoint.

He devoted his fundamental researches in the history of the spiritual culture of India to this urgent cause. One way of getting rid of the false importance of religion and idealism, in his own words, lies in understanding the truth that "among our traditional philosophers there were also those who did strongly challenge the very trends of thought which, for the sake of science and our progress, we propose to oppose today".[126]

By showing the presence of uninterrupted and highly developed traditions of rationalism, atheism and materialism in Indian philosophy, the Marxists justly denounce the vain theoretical attempts of these anti-communist ideologists who claim that dialectical materialism is not applicable to Indian conditions.

An objective analysis of the social and spiritual development of India leads the Marxists to the irrefutable conclusion that the modern scientific materialistic ideology in no way contradicts the spiritual traditions of India but, on the contrary, finds a convincing proof in it. Bhowani Sen, in his article which we cited elsewhere, writes : "like the ancient Greeks, our forefathers developed materialistic philosophy which, despite inherent limitations and inconsistencies, has had its strong influence on the Indian thought even much earlier than in the fifth Century B. C. Therefore, materialism is not an

126. Ibid, p. xiii.

accidental phenomenon in the history of India, but is an integral part of our culture". [127]

D. P. Chattopadhyaya, an ardent protagonist of this viewpoint, says that just as the evidence of primitive communism provides the Marxist with an argument for the transient nature of private ownership and exploitation, likewise the presence of the materialistic teachings in the hoary past of India gives solid ground to assert the same with respect to religion and idealism, so often claimed as being inherent in Indian thought. But we will do without these in the future as we did in the past. [128]

At the same time, the Marxists are fully aware of the fact that idealism and religion cannot be eliminated only by logical arguments and theoretical considerations. Chattopadhyaya writes : "the point is, it is impossible to refute idealism on the strength of mere philosophical arguments, however clever...The false consicousness of class society can be finally eliminated only by overthrowing the class structure of society itself". [129]

Thus, the philosophical heritage of ancient India is among the foremost and advanced lines of modern ideological struggle.

127. B. Sen, *op cit*
128. D. P. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, p. 665.
129. Ibid, p. 678.

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